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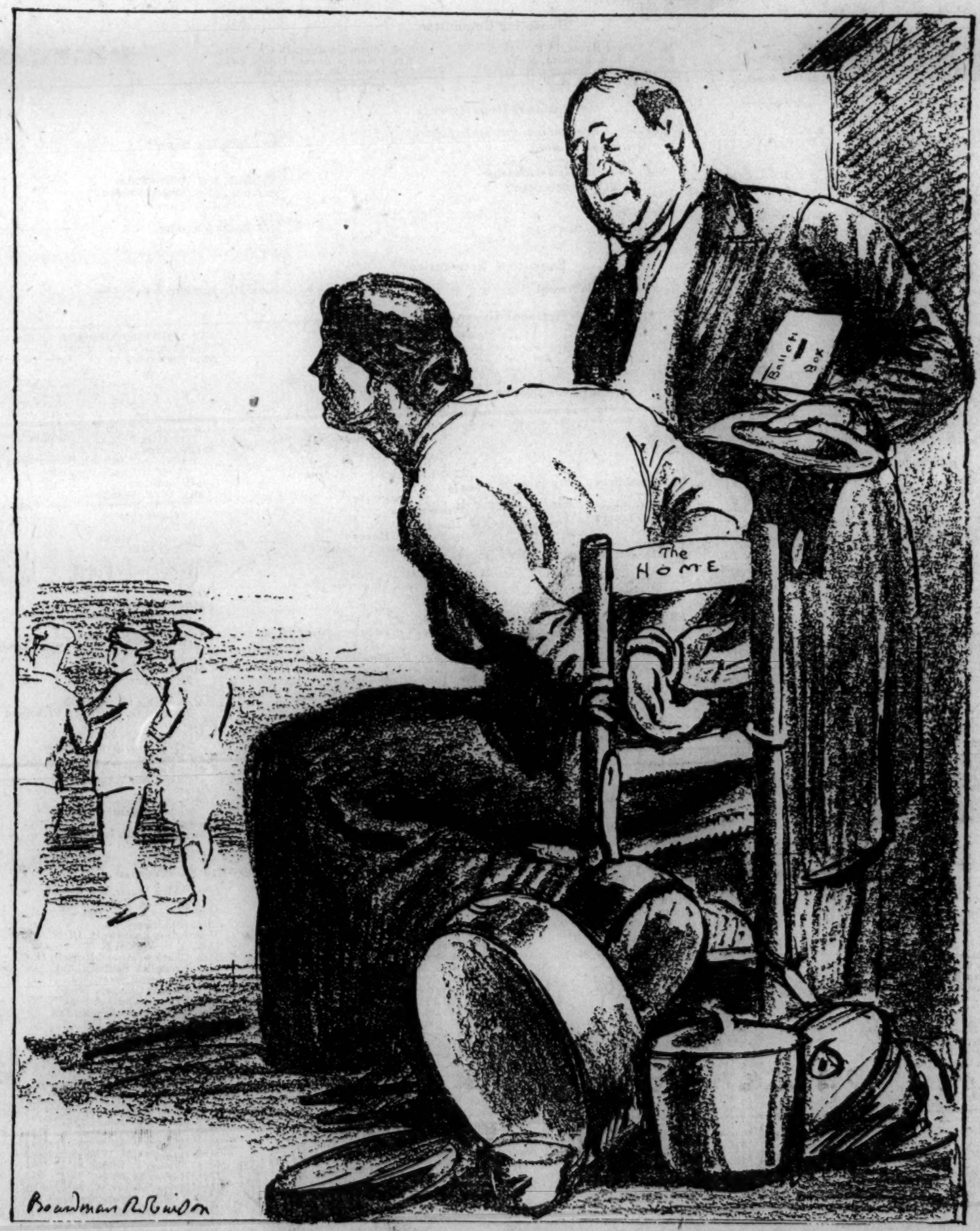
The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1917



From the New York Call

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP. Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

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Notes of the Week

Every Way But One

THE National Americanization Committee is planning a campaign to draw immigrant women into American life. Miss Frances Kellor, a student of immigration and assistant to the chairman of this committee, says that while the foreign-born men are assimilated naturally in time, their wives are left behind. The movement to Americanize these women will include the teaching of English to them, improving the communities where they live, inducing them to become naturalized, and to attend citizenship classes and classes of domestic science, sending visiting nurses and social workers to their homes and so on. In fact this effort to satisfy the foreign-born in the United States, so oddly started by the war and by "patriotism," where formerly justice and decency were powerless to better conditions for these people, is using every method to influence and educate immigrant women except the simple one of giving them real citizenship in the country to which they have come. Nowhere in the admirable program of the National Americanization Committee is there a mention of the right of franchise for these women as well as for their men.

Aid for Women in Washington Prisons

THE Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia has this week decided to investigate the increased number of arrests of women in the District and to help these women in every way possible. The Association is incorporating for this purpose, with Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey as president.

With ninety-six women arrested in the District since June 20 for asking for political liberty, and sixty-one of these cases given prison sentences of from three to sixty days, it is not remarkable that women lawyers of Washington are forced to investigate the situation. The trials and imprisonment of suffragists have also made plain to many women who have never before seen the workings of police courts the shocking railroading of accused women, and especially negro women, in the District into Occoquan workhouse or the District jail by the police court magistrates. Every woman obliged by the Woman's Party cases to sit in the court room during a day's proceedings by these men will be relieved to hear that the women lawyers of Washington are acting to better conditions.

The Woman's Parade

THE New York State Woman Suffrage Party is organizing a Woman's Parade in New York City on October 27. It will not be an exclusively suffrage parade, but will represent women's work in the war also, and every woman in the State is invited to join it. Wives and mothers of soldiers and sailors, women in industry and professions, taxpaying women and so on will march to represent the service women bring to the country. One of the features will be 2,500 women carrying the lists of signatures of the million women in New York State enrolled for woman suffrage.

Playing Safe

HAVING lost one Collector of the Port of New York, who resigned through disapproval of the Democratic methods of blocking suffrage, President Wilson means to play safe with his new appointment of an anti-suffragist to the post. The new collector, Mr. B. R. Newton, has recently made this statement to the press:

"I feel like thanking God that there are still left so many real women who appreciate the power womanhood has always exerted in the development of world civilization. I believe the war may be a blessing to our country in checking what I regard as a menace—and by menace I mean that group of restless, abnormal women who seem to have a perverted and diseased ambition to do anything and everything except those things which Almighty God and nature designed them to do. Women have set the milestones of progress along the path of civilization in the world, and I am truly thankful that the American women, despite the freaks of their sex, are rising to the occasion and continuing to do that splendid work in this country today."

Mr. Newton's appointment may not prove safe, after all. For it is hard to imagine what other qualifications for this important public position the composer of these remarks might have besides opposing suffrage.

A Woman Candidate for the Senate

REPORTS from Idaho declare that the women of that State consider making Mrs. William E. Borah, wife of Senator Borah, their candidate in the 1918 elections for the vacancy made by her husband's resignation. It is said that if Mrs. Borah runs for senator her chances of election are good.

All Is Not Gold

NEWSPAPERS, and even a great many suffragists who should see social questions more clearly, have thrilled with enthusiasm lately about war work for women, how it will win them economic justice and political freedom and how deeply their country appreciates such patriotic efforts. Meanwhile the dangers of offering a new body of unenfranchised workers to capital to exploit grows clearer and clearer. And here and there groups of the workers are proving intelligent enough to shove aside the muzzle of automatic patriotism the war regime has tried to forge on them and to stand up for justice.

The girls employed in the Pittsburgh yards of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad are on strike for equal pay with men. The oilers, greasers and engine wipers formed the Woman's Railway Shop Employes local, walked out in a body, and are united in staying on strike till their demands are met. They were hired to take the places of men drafted for the national army.

Presidential Suffrage Not Lost in Ohio

SINCE the presidential suffrage bill passed in Ohio last spring, suffrage opposition has worked to force a referendum on the question by petition. It is now proved in court that fraud has been used largely in getting the names for the petition for a referendum, and petitions from twenty-two counties have been thrown out. The Common Pleas court has now issued a temporary injunction prohibiting the referendum in November.

War and the Economic Position of Woman

JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON, dean of the New York University School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance, who has for years been training women and men for business, believes that all women ought to work, and that now they have the chance to establish themselves firmly in every field through the present forced dependence on them. He acknowledges that women have not yet been treated fairly in the matters of pay, advancement and being given executive positions, and that it lies with women now to demand justice.

"If a woman possesses initiative, if she has the brains and the desire to lift herself out of the rut, she may as well understand that she must work harder than the young man who is her equal if she is to convince her employer that she deserves advancement.

"Women still are paid less than men, in many offices, for three reasons: The first is that women will take less than men; the second is that competition among employers for the services of any particular woman seldom exists; the third cause is that the average employer does not feel that with his women employes business is an end in itself.

"If women want to earn as much as men they must convince business men that they mean business. Instead of an occasional woman retaining her job after marriage, the rule must be not to let marriage interfere with business. Such a decision involves many problems and adjustments. We have to work them out. If the business woman wants to be treated as a permanent factor she must be one."

Mr. Johnson omits the obvious truth that the greater aggressiveness needed by women in business must be backed up by political power for full success.

An Impression of the Last War Congress Picket Line

By Pauline Jacobson

Of the San Francisco Bulletin

The Arrest of the Last Suffrage Picket of the War Congress

I HAD had much of the Western prejudice against the "militant movement" that the live suffrage battle has become in this country. I had thought, from the newspaper reports that have gone forth concerning the action of these "militant suffragists," that "picketing" was rowdy and unlovely. I found it a silent, a still thing—a thing sublime.

The last picket of the emergency war session of the sixty-fifth Congress took place October 6, the very day and hour of the adjournment of that Congress that has refused to consider the enfranchisement of women a war measure.

It was four o'clock. The sun, which never seems bright to me under these paler Eastern skies, slanted chill and thin through the falling golden foliage of autumn trees lining the broad avenue on which the White House stands. Diagonally across, flying the suffrage colors, stands the handsome old Cameron House, the headquarters of the Woman's Party.

Suddenly that chill avenue vista became vibrant with color, with fluttering banners, wide-striped of purple, gold and white, borne aloft on tall, imposing, war-like spears. Down the avenue they fluttered slowly, as if moved by some mysterious force. Then I saw the force that was sending those banners forward through the careless crowds.

There were eleven women, each bearing high her colored banner. The leader, a woman frail and slight and very pale, her eyes and face really lit with exaltation of purpose, carried a white flag on which was printed: "Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" Then behind followed the others with the vivid purple and gold flags on the spear-headed staffs. They looked neither to the right nor to the left. They seemed to me to walk so lightly that the great banners carried them; and there was the glow in all of their eyes though their faces were quite unsmiling.

The street in an instant had become alive with people who gathered about, followed or lined the curbs, men and women—the women for the most part curious, the men for the most part disdainful, insolent or leering. It was not a Western crowd; there was no generosity in it.

But silently, perceived by all but perceiving none, the women marched straight ahead. As they neared the White House a sailor sprang forward and tore the banner from one picket, threw it on the ground and trampled on it. The young girl who had carried it, stooped down and silently rescued her banner. I thought there was tenderness in the way she smoothed it out and tried to fasten it again to her tall staff. Four banners were torn and mutilated like that. Each girl, without a word, like the first, tried to protect her flag.

AND then, like a flash, those eleven women, a few feet apart, were flanking either side of the wide White House gates like living statues, only their colored banners fluttering upward. They stood facing the coming and going crowd silently. There was the pale little leader with her staff bare; the crowd had torn away that simple question on the white flag. There were two women with silvering hair, the mothers of grown daughters. There was a physician from

Alice Paul, National Chairman
Taken Just before the Picket Started

Colorado, who had come all the way from her free West "to make her words deeds," as she put it. There was a young girl with bobbed hair and a cupid's bow mouth and dimples. There was a tall blonde Brunhilde woman, a representative of labor; her hair about her face was like an aureole. There was a girl from California with eyes and face that made me think of the martyrs of old. Young and old, it seemed to me as they stood there, all silent, all proud, all with that Joan of Arc quality, that they represented not individual women, but womanhood.

Then came shouted orders, the sudden waving of blue-coated arms and the elbowing to the front of blue coats with much gold braid. The police were scattering the curious crowd. Above their orders came the clang of the patrol. Next, the eleven statues had disappeared from the White House gates. They were being crowded to the front by the fat officer in the uniform. They were still silent and still proud. There was something majestic even in the way each stooped her head to enter the small door of the patrol

wagon. And the last uniformed officer who had gathered together the brilliant flags sat in front, where they still fluttered triumphant in the wind as the patrol clanged off and the crowd shouted.

I FOLLOWED them to the police station. It seemed to me there was strange delay in the procedure of accepting bail for people charged with so simple an offense—for they were charged with "obstructing traffic." That same day I had seen dense crowds watching the World Series returns, with mounted police to clear a space for the cars. There were no arrests for blocking traffic. They were finally released on bail for trial the following Monday.

That evening I visited the beautiful old headquarters so near the White House and its iron opposition. The talk of the evening all bore on that place called Occoquan, where already, I learned, nineteen women are now serving time, the last of sixty-odd who have been sentenced for fighting for freedom. The little group I had seen arrested, it was rumored, would receive six months!

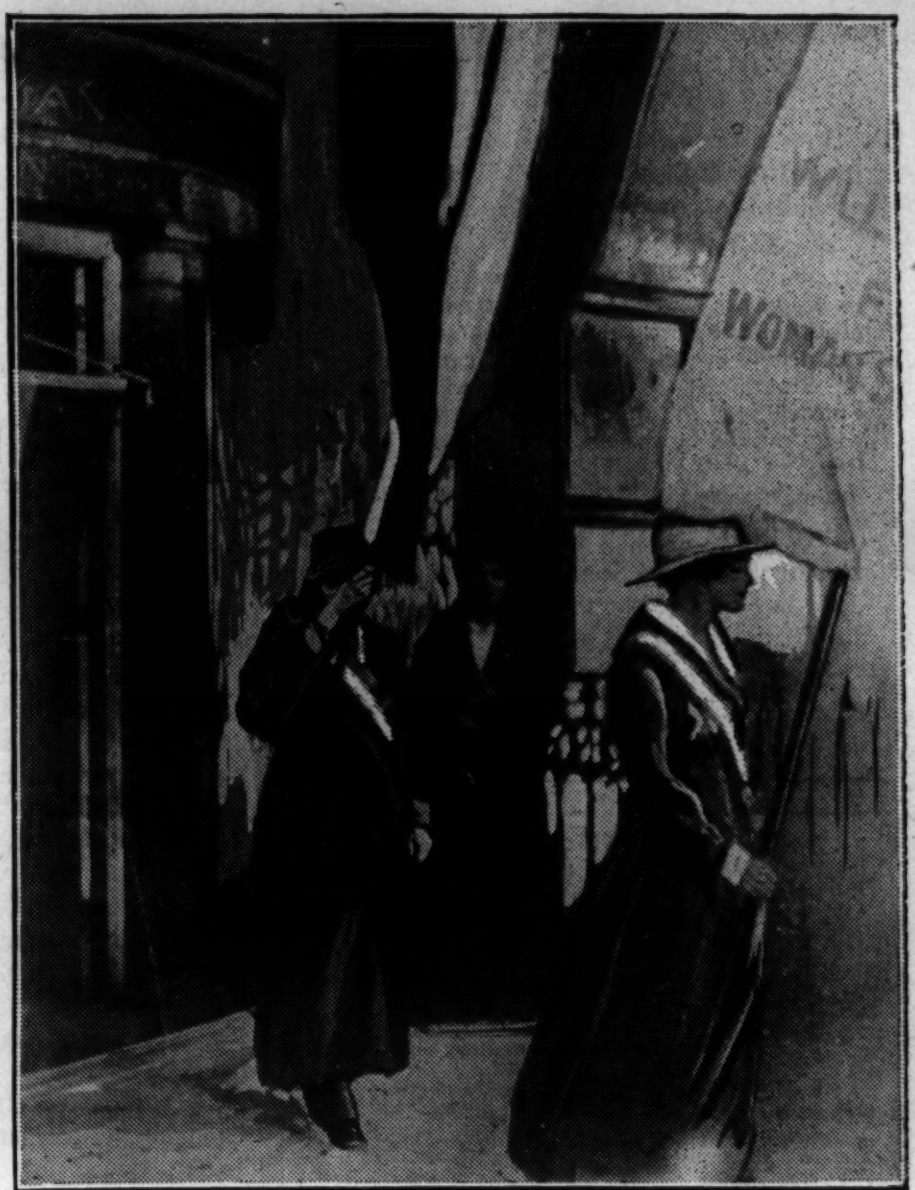
One of the picket group sighed. She was the mother of a grown daughter. "It doesn't seem as if I *could* be spared from home so long!" she said. "But I will not pay the fine, and I will go."

On the big velvet lounge a young flower-like girl was curled up. "I feel like a traitor!" she cried, her starry eyes growing big. "I feel like a traitor to stay here safe and comfortable while you go!"

"And so do I!" "And so do I!" came other voices from the deep chairs drawn around.

"What we have got to remember," said the white-haired woman, "is that we all have work to do. Some of us must go down; some of us must keep before the country the fact that women are ready to make sacrifices for their freedom. But all of us are needed and we all have work." The girl whose suffrage task prevented the sacrifice, sighed.

It seemed to me that in that old place there was the spirit that has made martyrs.



The Pickets Leaving National Headquarters Led by Alice Paul

Another Administration Retreat

ALICE PAUL, National Chairman of the Woman's Party, led the last picket line which appealed to the President of the United States during the life of the war Congress. On the day and hour of the adjournment of Congress, eleven women again asked the question which was first carried to the White House gates last January and which has, with brief intermissions, been there nine months: "Mr President, what will you do for woman suffrage?"

Representing the protests of ten States, the women arrested were Miss Vivian Pierce, of San Diego, California, one of the editors of THE SUFFRAGIST; Miss Rose Winslow and Miss Joy Young, of New York; Miss Matilda Young, of Washington, D. C.; Dr. Caroline Spencer, of Colorado Springs, Colorado; Miss Minnie Hennessy, of Hartford, Connecticut; Mrs. Louise Lewis Kahle, of Buffalo; Miss Katherine Heffelfinger, of Shamokin, Pennsylvania; Miss Maude Jamison, of Norfolk, Virginia; Miss L. Daniels, of Grafton, Vermont; and Miss Paul.

At their trial, October 8, two days after the arrest, the eleven suffrage pickets refused to recognize the court or the court proceedings. They refused to be sworn, to question witnesses or to speak in their own behalf. Voicing the protest of the twenty million unenfranchised women of the nation, Miss Alice Paul stated the case of the Woman's Party succinctly when she said:

"WE do not wish to make any plea before this court. We do not consider ourselves subject to this court since, as an unenfranchised class, we have nothing to do with the making of the laws which have put us in this position."

To hear this simple statement of the leader responsible for the aggressive policy of the Woman's Party toward the Administration, the court room had all morning been crowded to the doors. Among those waiting to hear the verdict was Representative Timberlake, of Colorado, interested in the fate of a constituent of his State, Dr. Caroline Spencer, one of Colorado's women political leaders.

At the close of Miss Paul's brief remark the crowd in the room rose and pressed forward for the verdict of this police magistrate, who had established the Administration's precedent of giving excessive sentences to women asking for liberty. After order had been restored, Judge Mullowney said: "Unfortunately, I am here to support the laws that are made by Congress and, of course, I am bound by those laws; and you are bound by them as long as you live in this country, notwithstanding the fact that you do not recognize the law."

Instead, however, of sentencing the eleven women the judge suspended sentence and restored the bail furnished by the suffragists for their appearance. For this surprising change of front no reason was given.

REGARDING the freeing of the pickets Miss Paul said: "We are glad that the authorities have retreated at last from their untenable position, and grown wary of prosecuting women for peacefully petitioning for political liberty.

"The action of the court this morning makes more glaring than ever the injustice of holding nineteen women on sixty and thirty-day sentences in Occoquan workhouse for the same offense of petitioning for liberty which we committed. We will use our unexpected freedom to press our campaign with ever-increasing vigor."

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported
Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status
In the Senate
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Abesent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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President Wilson's Congress

ANOTHER session of Congress has come to an end without the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. This session was a special session that will be known in history as the War Congress. Every measure recommended as a war measure by President Wilson was promptly passed by this Congress. And Congress found time in addition to protect migratory birds, to appropriate forty-seven millions for deepening rivers and harbors, and to establish federal judgeships.

Yet the federal amendment to enfranchise twenty million American women who must fight the war was refused attention by Congress.

However trivial, however remote from war, Congress felt such a measure, it can never say its time was too much filled this session to consider suffrage. One-hundredth part of the hours consumed by spread-eagle speeches and the "patriotic" verse dear to members would have brought political liberty to American women. For weeks Congress met only every three days for a prayer or a few hours of talking.

But the amendment was, indeed, a war measure—one of the most important. Opinion is concerted that the Administration can only win the support of an adequate service army by giving women modern democratic treatment. The war in Canada, England, Russia, Hungary and Austria long ago proved that fighting a war means democratic co-operation—and enfranchising women. By neglecting suffrage Mr. Wilson's Congress showed this Administration still circling in the backwash of that sweep of democracy that is flooding social justice into Europe.

Mr. Wilson assures us he thinks his Congress perfect.

"The Congress now adjourning," he said, dismissing the session that worked his commands, "deserves the gratitude and appreciation of a people whose will and purpose I believe it has faithfully expressed. One cannot examine the record of its action without being impressed by its completeness, its courage and its full comprehension of a great task.

"I believe that it has also, in equal degree and as far as possible in the face of war, safeguarded the rights of the people and kept in mind the consideration of social justice so often obscured in the hasty readjustments of such a crisis."

Great and growing numbers of women and men believe, however, that Mr. Wilson and his Administration have acted incompletely, timidly and with autocratic disregard of the rights of twenty millions of people. Masses of women have concentrated their efforts to prove this to him. They have stood by thousands before the White House with insistent demands that startled the country to see that women in the United States are denied justice by the Democratic leader. They have suffered attack, arrest, imprisonment. President Wilson could not ignore them.

At the end of the session he gave another command and Congress made two little steps toward suffrage. The Senate Suffrage Committee reported favorably on the amendment; and the House created a suffrage committee it had refused to create since 1913. Clearly the driving power of our right agitation for suffrage forced the President to act, where he had refused action.

President Wilson had to move. His armor of complacence against considering women's demands for liberty is pierced. Fermenting dissatisfaction with his government's dull opposition to women breaks out in every corner of the country. His praise of this negligent Congress smacks more of apology than conviction. His next Congress must pass the suffrage amendment if it is to win back the credit lost the Democratic Administration by its barbarous treatment of women who want freedom.

President's Suffrage Opposition Arouses South and West

MRS. LAWRENCE LEWIS, of Philadelphia, and Miss Mabel Vernon, of Delaware, secretary of the Woman's Party, last week covered the large cities of Michigan in a series of public meetings, of receptions and women's conferences that brought home to thousands of citizens of that State just where the responsibility for the failure of Congress to pass suffrage as a war measure this Congress must rest. In unvarnished terms both women, who have "served time" in a Government workhouse and prison of the National Capital, told the story of the suffrage record of the present Congress and the attitude of the President in consenting to the imprisonment of American women for asking for liberty.

Large numbers of local women acted as reception committees in the cities visited, under the capable chairmanship of Mrs. W. Nelson Whittemore, who planned the State meetings as a whole. The Detroit committee, in addition to Mrs. Whittemore, consisted of Mrs. George Hendrie, who entertained Mrs. Lewis and Miss Vernon in Detroit; Mrs. George Johnston, Mrs. Emma Fox, author of many books on parliamentary law; Mrs. C. R. Wilson, president of the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. E. R. Shippen, Mrs. W. R. Alvord, Mrs. F. C. Osborn, a member of the Detroit School Board; and Dr. Mary Stevens.

On the day of the arrival of the two "suffrage pickets" a large public luncheon for them was given at the Detroit Board of Commerce, followed by a mass meeting, largely attended by both men and women. In the afternoon of the same day Mrs. Dorothy Earle entertained the two visitors and the members of the State Board of the Woman's Party at a tea at the Woman's Exchange. In the evening Mrs. Alexander Gage opened her beautiful home for a reception and drawing-room meeting at which Reverend Eugene Shippen, of the Unitarian church, presided.

A PUBLIC dinner was held the day following in Bay City, the Detroit suburb. Mrs. G. B. Jennison entertained at a dinner, followed by a large public meeting in the ballroom of the Colonial Club, in which Mrs. Lewis and Miss Vernon told the story of the suffrage picket to an enthusiastic audience.

In Lansing the Woman's Party meetings were in charge of Dean Georgia White, of the Michigan Agricultural College; Mrs. F. C. Aldinger, treasurer of the Michigan branch of the National Woman's Party; and Mrs. C. S. Waters, district chairman. A public luncheon and meeting was held in the Mills Tea Room. In the evening Dr. John H. Kellogg, of the Battle Creek Sanitorium, entertained the suffrage party and arranged a meeting which is to be held at the sanitorium.

The final Michigan meeting was held in Kalamazoo, where Mrs. Lewis, Miss Vernon, Mrs. Shippen and Mrs. Whittemore were entertained by Mrs. Alfred Curtenius, and held rousing street meetings. The two suffragists this week are speaking in Illinois, touching Galesburg, Peoria, Springfield, Bloomington, and Chicago.

Miss Maud Younger, in the South during the past week, has spoken in Richmond, Roanoke, and Lynchburg, holding successful street meetings and being entertained by local boards. This week Miss Younger is speaking in North Carolina. Her meetings are being arranged by Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, Miss Rebecca Hourwich, Mrs. Nina Allender, Miss Berta Crone, and Miss Joy Young, and will extend through every Southern State.

Miss Anne Martin, during the past week, has spoken in Colorado. In the East Mrs. Robert Baker, who has recovered from the illness she contracted in Occoquan workhouse and which forced her premature release, will speak in the Eastern centers.

Last State Organizes for the Woman's Party

WEST VIRGINIA women have this week ended an active campaign to spread in that State the truth about the federal suffrage situation by organizing a branch of the National Woman's Party, and so making the party that has pushed the suffrage amendment to its place as a foremost political issue completely nation-wide for the last drive that will put the amendment through in the Sixty-fifth Congress.

For three weeks before the meeting in Wheeling on October 3, Miss Pauline Clarke, one of the editors of THE SUFFRAGIST, was in West Virginia, getting in touch with women throughout the State, and arousing interest in the question of national suffrage. Since the disastrous State referendum in West Virginia last year, the State organization has been inactive, not yet having joined its forces to the federal fight. The response from West Virginia women to news of the suffrage situation in Washington proved again how far federal suffrage is toward victory, when communities that have never before had it placed before them accept it as the only practical method now for getting suffrage. Miss Clarke spoke at meetings of women's clubs, at the convention of the Ohio County W. C. T. U., and at the Wheeling Trades Assembly, finding everywhere women who see the importance of making the last effort for suffrage now as a war measure.

The final meeting of the campaign was held in Wheeling on October 3 in the ballroom of the Windsor Hotel. Mrs. W. Thompson Burch, chairman of the District of Columbia branch of the Woman's Party, came on to Wheeling for the last days before the conference and was the principal speaker. Miss Florence Hoge, of Wheeling, presided at the meeting, stating in her introductory speech that she had already become convinced that the National Woman's Party is right in its demand for immediate action on suffrage now, before this country goes further into the problems of war and before it has to face the problems of reconstruction.

"The United States is a half-democracy now," said Miss Hoge, "and it cannot talk too much about fighting for democracy in Europe until it is willing to reform itself for democracy at home."

Mrs. Burch told the history of the federal amendment, and described the successful fight the National Woman's Party has made in the last four years to keep suffrage before the country. She explained how picketing grew out of the Democratic party's blocking of suffrage, drew a vivid picture of the picket and proved the results it has already had in Congress and on the President.

Miss Clarke described the work that must be done in the States to back up the Woman's Party's fight in Washington with the Administration. The keen interest of the men and women present led to many questions, and Woman's Party members supported the picket and the other direct methods of this organization to get political action for suffrage.

One of the most notable women present was Mrs. G. E. Boyd, of Wheeling, wife of former Judge Boyd, and a pioneer suffragist in West Virginia. Over eighty years old, and very frail, Mrs. Boyd came out for the first time in many weeks to attend this meeting, to show, as she said, that she could "still do her bit." Mrs. Boyd has ardently supported the National Woman's Party policy since its adoption, having become convinced by the treatment given suffragists in the Washington parade of 1913 that women must give up their old methods for a firm political stand for suffrage.

The strong State committee formed in West Virginia is made up of Miss Florence Hoge, of Wheeling, chairman; Miss Carrie Zane, of Wheeling, and Mrs. William Gay Brown, of Kingwood, wife of former Congressman Brown, who will serve on the National Advisory Council. Miss Hoge is one of the most active suffragists in the State, formerly secretary of the State, and president of the Ohio County Association. Miss Zane was formerly treasurer of the West Virginia Suffrage Association, and was one of the most active workers in the referendum campaign, the defeat of which made her a firm believer in federal suffrage only. Miss Hoge is already laying plans for completing the West Virginia organization.

The Irony of the Present Suffrage Situation

By W. H. Crichton Clarke, LL. B.

IT is a curious fact that the enfranchisement of the black man meant the disfranchisement of white women; that the freeing of slave men was celebrated by the enslaving of free women. Up until the time of the War between the States, there was no bar in the United States Constitution against women voting. They had not voted, but there was no constitutional sanction for their disfranchisement by the States. It was by Section 2 of Article XIV, one of the slavery amendments adopted after the war, that the States were permitted to disfranchise women without penalty or pain.

Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment provides that if a State shall deny to any of its "male inhabitants" the right to vote, it shall be penalized by cutting down its representation in Congress in the same proportion as it disfranchises its male inhabitants. The amendment, however, is drawn to permit women to be disfranchised without penalty.

Where a State denies the right to vote to a class of convicts, lunatics, pacifists, anarchists, or polygamists, it lowers its right of congressional representation, but where it disfranchises all its women, nothing happens, except perhaps that many of the better grades of men leave the work of lawmaking to politicians who work more often for private advantage than public good.

STATES are only supposed to disfranchise those citizens who are not qualified for an "independent and intelligent exercise of the right" of suffrage. Women as a class are as "independent and intelligent" as men. On the score of independence, some men believe the women are entirely too much so, and on the score of intelligence, man gets his brains and his breeding from his mother no less than his father. For every fool woman in the world, there are apparently several fool men, as shown by the higher death rate, the shorter average lives and the greater proneness to dissipation and irregular living among men than women.

It is bad enough to deprive women of the vote, without adding insult to injury. Women are not disfranchised because they lack either intelligence or independence, but solely because the world so far has been run on

"The good old simple plan
That he may take who has the power,
And he may keep who can."

When I read history and find men in France and England decapitating kings for democracy, and fighting wars to free nations and slaves, and, yes, even throwing tea rudely into Boston harbor, it makes me laugh with derision at the virtuous indignation of those of us who shudder with horror because a few feeble women hold up banner-petitions for democracy, and go to jail, because the police stand by and permit mobs of noble men to stone and trample them down in the dirt.

I LAUGH with derision when I see that it is easier for Russia to get rid of a Czar and enfranchise its women, than it is for a president to ask Congress to submit a constitutional amendment to the States;—not to enfranchise women, but merely to ascertain whether the legislatures of three-fourths of the States are willing to do so.

I laugh with derision at the thought of a monarchy like England granting suffrage to its women before a republic like the United States—at the thought of our falling back behind even Russia.

I gaze with wonder and awe at the nerve—at the overpowering brazenness—of our male politicians in accepting as soldiers the sons of women, in taking those who are flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood, and feeding them into the maw and horrors of war, and in accepting not only the sons, but also the labors of women who are toiling at all the burdensome tasks of men, the operating of machinery, the tilling of fields, the driving of ambulances, in addition to the performing of their own women's work of nursing, knitting, sewing, canning, preserving, and generally conserving for the Government, and on the top of all these noble sacrifices and labors, saying to the women by way of return for their sons, their toil, their sacrifices, privations and agony, "You are not sufficiently independent and intelligent to vote; you are not deserving of even a resolution in Congress to ask the States whether they are willing to enfranchise you."

Two things are necessary in addition to the many things that have been done, to bring home the full seriousness of this war for democracy to the American people: One is to have a man's size cabinet at Washington for a man's size war, and the other is to make it really a war for democracy by raising white women to the level of black men and elevating the United States to the level of England and Russia in the matter of recognizing by the grant of the vote, the independence, the intelligence, the nobility and the unflinching bravery, fortitude and patriotism of women.

Pickets on the Screen

A HISTORY in pictures of the White House suffrage picket, from its first appearance on January 10, 1917, through the picket led by Alice Paul on October 6, is being prepared by Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, in the form of a lantern slide talk which, as soon as completed, will be sent over the country.

The picture story will start with pictures of all the great national suffrage demonstrations in Washington and the activities of suffragists all over the nation which were first organized to focus the national demand of American women on Congress and the President for action on the federal amendment, and which led up to the more definite and persistent demand of the picket.

The picket pictures cover every phase of the entire period of picketing,—peaceful, unmolested picketing during the Sixty-fourth Congress; the grand picket on March 4, when approximately a thousand women petitioned for liberty at the gates of the White House for over two hours in a driving winter rain; peaceful picketing after war was declared; anti-suffrage rioters attacking the picketers, undeterred by the Capital police; arrests of the pickets instead of the rioters; attacks on suffrage headquarters; suffragists in prison and in the workhouse; a complete group of all the banners ever carried to the picket line; sailors in uniform attacking suffragists,—in fact the whole vivid drama of the picket flashed on the screen from actual photographs made at the time.

The aim of the nation-wide tour of this picture talk is two-fold: first that the country may know the truth about picketing for suffrage—what it is and why—and second, that women may make their demands for justice from the coming Congress on this exact knowledge of what has already been done for national woman suffrage.

Any organization or organizer that wants to arrange to show the picket pictures may write to headquarters for details of the tour.

Mrs. Weed, the daughter of the late Representative E. J. Hill, has been closely identified with the Woman's Party, and has kept a dramatic picture record of the events that led up to the political picket on the President. Mrs. Weed has herself served on the picket line winter and summer, and was among the first of the federal amendment suffragists to serve a prison sentence for suffrage. There is no phase of the persecution of suffragists in the National Capital which has not been covered by Mrs. Weed's collection of pictures.

From the Log of a Suffrage Picket

Katharine Rolston Fisher

UPON entering Occoquan workhouse, we were separated from the preceding group of suffragists. Efforts were made by the officers to impress us by their good will toward us. Entirely new clothing, comfortable rooms in the hospital, and the substitution of milk and buttered toast for cold bread, cereal and soup ameliorated the trials of the table. The head matron was chatty and confidential. She told us of the wonderful work of the superintendent in creating these institutions out of the wilderness and of the kindness shown by officers to inmates. She lamented that some of the other suffragists did not appreciate what was done for them.

The superintendent first asked us to co-operate with the institution. His next step was to suggest to us singly that we allow our fines to be paid, and go home. Promises of medicine and unlimited letter-writing privileges buoyed up our rather lonely little group for a day or two, but we suffered from a sense of helplessness and isolation, which is the very atmosphere of a prison, and which prison authorities take care shall envelop the prisoner from the first.

What must it be to the lone casual offender! We felt it, and we were five, sustained by a common principle and purpose and within sight now and then of comrades. The joyous moments of the long days were when we daringly waved a greeting to our eleven friends across the dining room, or pressed our faces against our window screens and exchanged hurried words or signs with them before a matron or trusty padded up and stopped communication.

They were in our plight, but they were wiser by ten days of this prison world. How we beat against the barrier of petty tyranny that by this separation discriminated against us in a way not authorized by our sentence! "Why are we segregated from all the white prisoners?" I asked the superintendent of the workhouse. Part of the time we were not segregated from the colored prisoners, a group of whom were moved into the hospital and shared with us the one bathroom and toilet. "That is for your good and for ours," was the bland reply.

This was quite in the tone of his answer to another inquiry made when the superintendent told me that no prisoner under punishment—that is, in solitary confinement—was allowed to see counsel. "Is that the law of the District of Columbia?" I inquired. "It is the law here, because it is the rule I make," he replied.

WE learned what it is to live under one-man law. The doctor's orders for our milk and toast and even for our medicine were countermanded by the superintendent, so we were told. Our counsel, after one visit, was forbidden, upon a pretext, to come again.

On Tuesday, September 18, we were made to exchange our new gingham uniforms for old spotted gray gowns covered with patches upon patches; were taken to a shed to get pails of paint and brushes, and were set to painting the dormitory lavatories and toilets. By this time we were all hungry and more or less weak from lack of food. A large brush wet with white paint weighs at least two pounds. Much of the work required our standing on a table or step ladder and reaching above our heads. I think the wiser of us rested at every opportunity, but we did not refuse to work.

We had protested from the beginning against doing any manual labor upon such bad and scanty food as we received. Our strike came when we were told to get down and clean spots of paint from the unwashed concrete floors of the lavatories. Against filling our lungs with concrete dust and unnamable disease germs we unanimously rebelled.

Mrs. Kendall, who was the most emphatic in her refusal, was promptly locked up on bread and water. The punishment makes a story to be told by itself. It clouded our days constantly while it lasted and while we knew not half of what she suffered.

AT this time we had been without counsel for eight days. Miss Crocker's sister was allowed to see her only on condition that she agree not to reveal anything she learned of conditions here. Every request we made to a matron or the doctor was fruitless, because it had to be referred to Mr. Whittaker. Requests to see Mr. Whittaker met with the reply that he could be seen "tonight or tomorrow," but the promised opportunity never came.

The food which had been a little better, about the middle of the month reached its zenith of rancidity and putridity. We tried to make a sport of the worm hunt, each table announcing its score of weevils and worms. When one prisoner reached the score of fifteen worms during one meal, it spoiled our zest for the game.

All this time—five days—Mrs. Kendall was locked up, her pallid face visible through the window to those few suffragists who had opportunity and ventured to go to her window for a moment at the risk of sharing her fate.

Our purpose in wishing to see Mr. Whittaker was to protest against this unjust and cruel punishment. He doubtless guessed this and therefore allowed none of us to see him, although one of the laws of the prison is that a prisoner shall be allowed to see the superintendent upon request.

Mail was now held up, visitors turned away, our books, which we had been allowed to take to the sewing room, as there was almost no sewing for us to do, were collected early one morning. The reign of petty persecution designed to depress and discourage us seemed triumphant. But it wrought its own downfall. Our friends, prominent persons, the public, became anxious and active. The evident determination of the workhouse authorities that nothing should be known about the women imprisoned there for demanding political freedom, convinced the outside world that a situation existed which should be investigated at once. Influential people called to see Mrs. Kendall. The Woman's Party insisted on the right of its imprisoned members to see counsel. Mrs. Weed, daughter of the late Representative E. J. Hill, telegraphed to a member of the District Board of Charities, asking for an investigation. The Russian embassy was aroused to an interest in the two young Russian suffragists, in an American jail because they tried to help gain the freedom which Russia had given them. And soon a report ran through the labyrinth of long low buildings as news does run through prisons, that the superintendent had been removed and that there was a new man in his place.

Our mails, our books, our medicines began to come back. The doors of punishment cells opened, and not only our own comrades, white and weak, but other prisoners,—one a white woman who had been confined on bread and water eight days for taking the suffragists' part against a matron in the kitchen,—were set free. Though Mr. Whittaker was only temporarily removed, the place seemed to lift its head a little and breathe easier.

THE arrival of the four last sentenced pickets brought us more news. They were fresh and elated. They were not hungry; and the workhouse, tired, perhaps, of paying an extra matron to look after us, let them join our group at once.

The new group promptly told the sewing-room matron that they had broken no law, that they were here by unjust sentence, and would do no work. The rest of us, except the three then in hospital, decided by a vote to uphold them in this reasonable stand, and chose a committee consisting of Miss Burns and Miss Crocker to tell the matron so.

Next day we went outdoors to sit when we chose! Since then other women have been seen quietly sitting in the grove when they had no work to do, as it is reasonable they should.

The supreme moment of our long day is when word comes in from outside revealing a "story" showing that the freedom of women is advancing because we are here. How trifling then seem our discomforts and humiliations, clumsy clothes, hunger, sickness, even persecution and punishment.

The bright side of prison life is the comradeship it engenders. Many of our little acts of service or friendship to each other or to our unfortunate associates obviously cannot be told now. Their repetition might become impossible. This is the obligation on our side. A white prisoner who knows the place, a kind-hearted colored girl, may risk more than we realize to do one or all of the "suffragettes" a kindness. Some day these stories can be told. We have champions among them.

Comments of the Press

The Growing Power of the President

EVEN on the (congressional) committees themselves, the Administration has now its avowed spokesmen. They seem to act very much as a British minister in charge of a measure in the House of Commons. They interpret the Executive will; and we have seen recalcitrant members interviewed on policy by the President himself.

The key to the whole, in fact, has come to lie in the President's hands. The pathway of decision is his own, influenced, above all, by his personal cast of mind and by the few who can obtain direct access to him. This is not, it is clear, the Government envisaged by the Constitution. Equally certain, it is not a Government which meets with the approval of Congress. But, outside of Washington, the old suspicion of executive power is dead; and popular sentiment has become so entirely uninterested in the processes of politics as to ask only for substantial results.—*From "The Future of the Presidency," in The New Republic, September 29, 1917.*

Just Like Prussia

PUBLIC hearing refused in the Occoquan matter. Why? If Washington must be governed from above, it might at least know HOW the thing works. Private government, plus private investigation, does not seem to make Washington particularly safe "for democracy." If you read: "Star chamber investigation of alleged outrages in Berlin prison," you would say: "Just like Prussia."

Well, what's the difference?—*Washington (D. C.) Times, October 3, 1917.*

Refined Occoquan

THERE must be a refined warden at Occoquan. Mrs. Kendall was put in solitary confinement for "profanity," because she used the word "hypocrisy." This reminds you of the lady in a New York tenement questioned concerning a strange case of hypnotism in her neighborhood.

"Hypnotism, is it?" said she. "And me the decent mother of seven children."—*Washington (D. C.) Times, September 29, 1917.*

A Question of Methods

THE methods of decorum have been tried for the entire period of suffrage history in this country and have failed. If men were willing to enfranchise women because they are patriotic, loyal and good they would have enfranchised them long ago; they would surely rush to enfranchise them now, when there is such a general display of patriotism and loyalty among women. But, as a matter of fact, forty-five years of decorum and five months of the most frantic demonstrations of patriotism have not yet caused the Administration at Washington to take any decisive step in the direction of nationwide enfranchisement of women. Moreover, the suffrage movement in general, and the federal amendment in particular, would have fared badly in these days of war-madness if the militant tactics of the National Woman's Party had not kept alive a strong interest in the great issue of woman's political freedom. Patience and decorum may be very desirable qualities, but they have never yet brought about a social transformation. No ruling class has ever willingly abandoned its privileges because a subject class was loyal and patriotic.

If the present Administration can be induced to pass the federal suffrage amendment it will not be because of the patriotism of the conservative suffragists, but because of the radicalism of the militant wing, which has called the attention of the nation and of the world to the hypocrisy of a Government which goes to war for democracy abroad and suppresses democracy at home.—*Meta Lilienthal, New York Call, September 7, 1917.*

Suffragist Direct Action

MY hearty congratulation to the suffragists of Washington who are using radical thought and also direct action to bring their ism into reality. I uphold these women, as they have the courage of their convictions.

How were the negroes freed? Not through Lincoln voluntarily, but through the *direct action* of such eminent men as John Brown and William Lloyd Garrison, who was dragged through the streets of Boston.—*D. Lammar, New York World, August 26, 1917.*

Our Comic Democracy

ELIHU ROOT, who went to Russia to carry the message from a "perfect" democracy to a people struggling out of the bonds of unjust rule, comes out strong against citizenship rights for the women of the United States! These are comic days we live in.—*Miami (Fla.) Metropolis, September 28, 1917.*

"Dignity" Now Assured

THE United States Senate has had for several years a standing committee on woman suffrage to which all questions relating to that matter are referred. The House of Representatives has held aloof from such formal treatment of the question, but on Monday by a rather emphatic vote—although in a slim house—added a suffrage committee to its already long list.

This amounts to official recognition of the place of the movement among the issues with which national legislation has concern. It does not point, indeed, to the approval of the Susan B. Anthony amendment when that comes up for action at the next session, but it assures a like dignified and regular course of action as that which it has received in the Senate.—*Boston Post, September 26, 1917.*

Financial Report

Treasurer: **Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall**

Assistant Treasurer: **Miss Maud Jamison**

Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co. Washington, D. C.

Auditors: Marwick, Mitchell Peat & Company

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $300,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

List of Contributions Through October 2, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters

Per Pennsylvania Branch:	
Miss Lavinia Dock	$ 5.00
Mrs. John W. Schell	5.00
For Picket Fund	17.65
Per Mrs. Ella Morton Dean:	
Collected	8.14
Miss M. Jamison	1.00
Miss Ida Ostrum	.50
Miss Julia Emory	1.00
Miss Anna H. Quinby	5.00
Mrs. Agnes Chase	10.00
Miss Julia Allie Chelson	10.00
Mrs. John Thomas	5.00
Honorable J. K. Macguire	10.00
Mrs. Alice C. Treuthart	4.00
Mrs. Frances G. Davis	5.00
Miss Marion Sayward	10.00
Minnesota Branch	3.50
Mr. Albert C. Muhse	4.00
Mrs. Ehling	1.00
Mrs. Howard Nyman	10.00
Mrs. Florence B. Hilles	5.00
Mrs. William Floyd	25.00
Mrs. Dodman	2.00
Miss Mary B. Dixon	5.00
Mr. Donald Stephens	10.00
Miss Anna McCue	5.00
Mrs. Townsend Scott	2.00
Miss Maud Clark	5.00
Dr. Valeria H. Parker	5.00
Miss Anna H. Quinby (collected)	6.00
Mrs. Evelyn Wainwright	17.50
Mrs. Clarence M. Smith	5.00
Miss Caroline C. Hoffman	3.00
Miss Katharine A. Blake	10.00
Collections	.40
Membership Fees	17.50
Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 239.19
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	261,431.33
Total collected by National Headquarters through October 2, 1917	$261,670.52

Contributions made to Minnesota headquarters:

Mrs. A. H. Bright	$ 102.00
Miss Sarah C. Grant	24.00
Mrs. A. H. Potter	75.00
Mrs. Sarah T. Colvin	40.00
Mrs. Anna G. Nyman	27.00
Miss Virginia Chapin	50.00
A Friend	5.00
Mrs. McAllister	1.00
Mrs. Mary L. Bogert	10.00
Mrs. Clara K. Fuller	10.00
Mrs. H. G. Harrison	100.00
Mrs. Emma E. Armstrong	5.00
Mrs. Grace L. Wight	5.00
Mr. S. A. Stockwell	6.00
Mrs. Gertrude Hunter	5.00
Mrs. A. E. Merrill	1.00
Mrs. Walter Eggleston	.25
Mrs. H. L. Quinlan	1.00
Mrs. J. O. Sylvester	2.00
Mrs. M. D. Taylor	5.00
Mrs. S. A. Grant	5.00
Mrs. Carl J. Diebold	1.00
Mrs. L. B. Douglas	3.00
Mrs. Frederic Corser	2.00
Miss Nettie Blasing	12.00
Mrs. Kate B. Patterson	10.00
Mrs. W. E. Rogers	5.00
Mrs. Alice B. Nichols	10.00
Mrs. L. C. Bacon	5.00
Mrs. M. G. Coykendell	1.00
Mrs. Mary Andrews	5.00
Miss Elizabeth Wilson	10.00
Mrs. Anne McCoy	15.00
Mrs. H. H. Horton	5.00

Contributions made to Colorado headquarters:

Mrs. S. F. Hamp	5.00
Mrs. C. P. Dodge	15.00
Picket Fund	12.00
Dr. Jean Gale	5.00
Dr. Eleanor Lawney	.75
Dr. Laura Liebhardt	10.00
Miss Alice M. Gearson	1.00
A Friend	5.00
Dr. E. V. Fraser	5.00
Mrs. Josephine B. Bills	5.00
Colorado Springs Picket Fund	65.00
A Friend	5.00

Contributions made to Massachusetts headquarters:

Mrs. O. H. Hasbrouck	2.00
Mrs. Kate Ware Smith	3.00
Billy Smith Tea Room	43.25
By Finance Committee:	
Mrs. Edwards	100.00
Miss Emma F. Baxter	4.00
Mrs. J. M. Sweatt	5.00
Framingham Branch	15.00
Miss Mary Ware Allen	2.00
Mrs. Edward Lawrence	5.00

Contributions made to Utah headquarters:

Mrs. E. M. Garnett	5.00
Mrs. E. C. Jenkins	35.00

Contributions made to New Jersey headquarters:

Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins	50.00
Mrs. Morris B. Mead	2.00
Mrs. A. J. Rose	30.00
Miss Cornelia Rose	2.00
Mrs. R. M. Laird	4.00
Mrs. Frank A. Pattison	20.00
Mrs. Caroline B. Wilson	1.00
Mrs. B. R. Kinkead	10.00
Mrs. Jay Ten Eyck	5.00
Landis Township Branch	2.55
Mrs. Howard P. Boyle	4.00
Mrs. Catherine C. Warren	10.00
Mrs. J. A. Lefferts	4.00
Collections	3.05
Total collected by Branches	$ 1,063.85
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	37,125.63
Total collected by Branches through October 2, 1917	$ 38,189.48
Grand Total	$299,860.00
DEDUCTION:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	2,136.00
Grand Net Total	$297,724.00

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Publisher: The National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C.

Editor: Miss Vivian Pierce, 21 Madison Place, Washington, D. C.

Managing Editor: None.

Business Manager: Miss Hazel Hunkins, 21 Madison Place, Washington, D. C.

Owners: The National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C.

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VIVIAN PIERCE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this twenty-first day of September, 1917.

PAULINE M. WITHERS,
Notary Public.

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Through New York Branch	1
Miss Alice Paul	1
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